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Tahir Gaffarof

January 20, 1990

RED AND BLACK

**Reasons
Facts
Lessons
and
Results**

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Is devoted to the heroes of January 20

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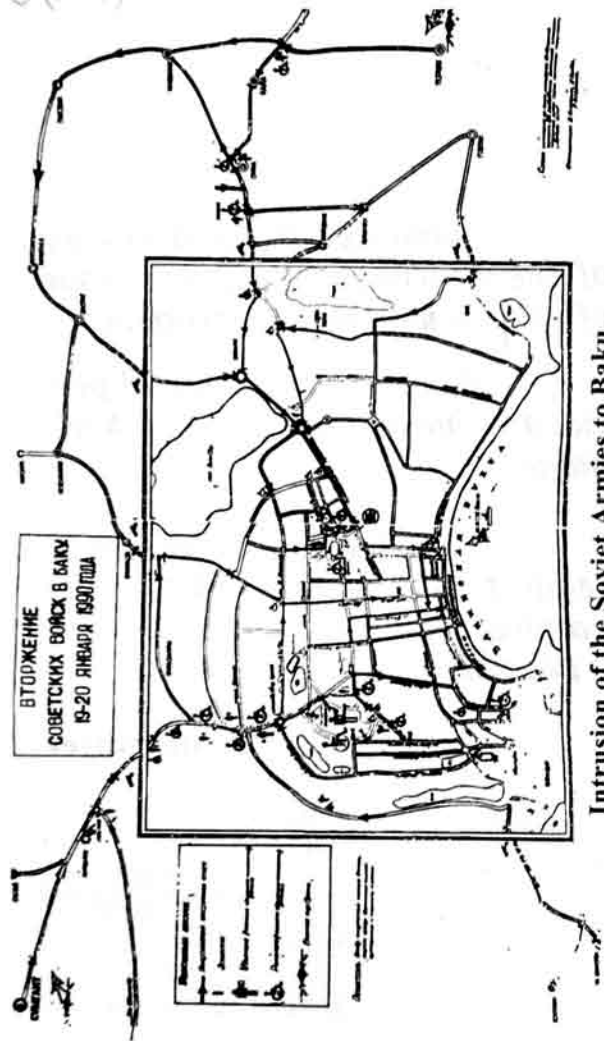
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- *January 20, for a history of the Azerbaijan people is page of pride and is page of tragedy.*

- *Blood of each shahid provided independence of Azerbaijan.*

- *The Azerbaijan people is ready to die, to give victims for national honour, for national independence.*

Heydar Aliyev



Intrusion of the Soviet Armies to Baku.
January 19-20, 1990

The foreword

Events of January 20, 1990 in Baku was attempt with the weapon and blood to squeeze democratic movement of the Azerbaijan people for his sovereign rights, which has begun with the spontaneous introductions of the people against Armenian separatism and terrorism under protection of the political centre of the Soviet empire in region Daglig Garabag of Azerbaijan. The people requiring respect to his rights was lead up to despair, group of his political active part has borrowed a radical position and the unarmed people were crushed under tanks, armoured cars of the Soviet armed forces. Absence of experience of political struggle, the effort of the political centre of empire, which had the unfriendly relation to Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan people served as a connecting part, bridge among turkish nations of the Soviet Union and Turkey, to not allow

formation of democratic movement around of outstanding, influential politics, treacherous position, feebleness of the chiefs of republic became the reasons of this bloodshed.

January 20, 1990 one of the brightest, honourable pages of a history of the Azerbaijan nation, which long years struggled for restoration state independence lost in the beginning of the XIX century. It is the eloquent proof of the fact that the Azerbaijan nation is capable to struggle for freedom, for independence, and in this way it will not stop victims. The nation has shown resistance, firmness, boldness against injustice in ways of democracy.

January 20 has given the large lesson to the people. The people has understood that for preservation own advantage and maintenance of the sovereign rights is not present other way except for restoration of state independence. Struggle of the people armed with idea of the great son Heydar Aliyev - "For us is not present rescue in structure of the USSR!", for restoration of state independence has extended and has won.

In this book the author for the first time in the Azerbaijan historical science tried to

open the reasons, genetic and system - functional connections of events, to define a role and place of January 20 in national liberation movement in Azerbaijan on the basis of the large actual materials exhausted from archives and a periodic press, and also on the basis of own supervision.

The doctor of historical sciences Tahir Gaffarof is the known historian, talented researcher of a history of Azerbaijan, author of the fundamental proceedings as "A History of Azerbaijan. 1920-1991" (Baku, 1999), "The Azerbaijan Republic. Ten years, which were equal to century. 1991-2001" (Baku, 2001), "Azerbaijan in the Second World war" (London, 2001), "Armenian terrorism in Forward Asia and Caucasus" (New-York, 2000), "An Image of life of the village population of Azerbaijan. 1960-1990 " (Baku, 1991), and also number of textbooks and educational programs. He is the member of Editorial Council of the multivolume edition "A History of Azerbaijan", editor and one of the authors of the seventh volume of this serial.

From the editor

I

The reasons

In middle of 80-s' years of the twentieth century in economic, political and spiritual life of the Soviet empire has arisen before crisis condition. The rate of growth, production efficiency and productivity of work continuously fell. Dogmas of "communist" ideology, which were spiritual support of the existing way of government have suffered to crash. In colonies of empire - in the Soviet republics amplified national self-consciousness, sign of the protest against spiritual humiliation, infringement of the sovereign rights and the plunders of values.

There were internal and external reasons of serious fragility of economic, political and ideological bases of the Soviet state.

Opportunities by traditional ways to maintain the republics, to keep the status of a superpower created by heavy work and large deprivations of the Soviet people have run low.

Strong administratively - command system sealed economic progress. The main reasons of economic crash were inefficiency of the socialist economic model, absence feeling of the owner in the people and market competition. Already it was impossible to eliminate economic backwardness by such traditional way as amplification of operation national outlying districts, it required the large investments. But national income, which most part were directed to the military purposes could not satisfy this.

Dominating party has grasped functions of state and economic management and blocked, it is possible to tell, all creative forces of the society. Amplified process of spiritual decomposition in the party on a measure strengthening of its command status in all branches of public life. To create for itself a social support, party split the peoples, collectives, organizations. Social elite, including party - economic active tried to use much achieved by temporary opportunities in the interests and created outrage: Ruled by the country not the laws, but interests of party elite. Operated in the state not the laws, but interests of party elite. Were not real maintenance of the an-

nounced rights and freedom. Government was interested in nihilism of the population in the field of the right. Lawlessness was natural quality of the existing mode and futility of struggle against it alienated the people from the political life. Illegality became natural quality of existing system and futility of struggle against it alienated the majority of the people from a political life.

One of the internal reasons of crash was deepening of the contradiction between real life and dogmas, invented ideals about the created society, about it "large future", which were widely propagandized by communist ideology. The state was compelled to create conditions that the people could to receive definite knowledge and education, which were necessary for development of productive forces and manufacture. The people, at which raised the cultural level, even in such narrow scales, correctly understood the real situation, the support of "communist" ideology have failed.

Crash of the Soviet empire were caused also by external reasons. This state, which have named as "Empire of evil" with the large difficulties has achieved to the creation of military parity between two - capitalist and

socialist systems. But the democratic countries of the world united the forces against it. The activity of the World anticommunist league has extended. Entered into this league representatives of the international moslems religious centres. In 1976 the World moslem league has announced sacred war against communism. Moslem International, organized in middle of 70-s' years, also struggled for association of anticommunist and antisoviet forces of moslems.

In middle of 70-s' years the USSR has placed the medium-range missiles in the East Europe. In December of 1979 the Soviet Army has intruded Afghanistan. The democratic countries against increased of the Soviet threats have strengthened preparations of the new military programs including program "Star wars" in USA. But USSR any more had no opportunity that will answer to these measures, especially to the military programs demanding huge means.

In the second half of 80-s' the Soviet state next time has made some attempts for rescue of the country from before crisis condition. After employment of the post of general secretary of

the Communist Party's Central Committee in March, 1985 M. S. Gorbachov, whose latent purpose of life, as he has told, was destructions of communism, put eclectic problems of ideology and statehood in April plenum of party, has advanced the concepts of "acceleration" of economic and social progress. The attempts were made to develop scientific and technical progress, material base of the Soviet society, to improve the economic relations, to intensify all systems of political, public and ideological structures and "to raise a role of the human factor". The laws and decisions for perfection of system of cost accounting, development of the rent attitudes, cooperation, for creation of equal conditions to economy based to different patterns of ownership were accepted. But there was no suitable condition for their application. As well as former directive acts both these laws and decisions have not given expected results. Not liquidating one-party political system, party domination, not having restored the sovereign rights of republics it was impossible to develop economy. Well understood this managing elite. In some years, on speech at the American university of Turkey M. Gorbachov has

admitted: "The Purpose of my life was destruction of communism". But intense struggle between three groups of party elite – conservatives, innovators and reformers close to the European Social Democrats - held back reforms. M. Gorbachov has achieved that January 1987 plenum of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Soviet Union has accepted lines "publicity". At first were seriously criticized stalinism, terror against the party leaders per 20-30 years, deviation from "Lenin's principles" of construction of the socialism. In the seal were widely exposed the mode of M. J. Bagirov, its bloody crimes. The totalitarian methods of management of the party, its antihumane policy, based on national discrimination, division of the peoples, deprivation them from clever heads, transformation of the people to robots were exposed by the concrete facts. Having appropriated the post of the chairman of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of USSR in 1988 M. Gorbachov began to carry out serious measures against party management by orders and decrees. In Nineteenth party conference (June, 1988) having put forward the slogan "Humane, democratic socialism" he regarded necessary to

divide functions between party and state bodies for creation of such society. For the first time in 1989 was organized elections of the national deputies on the basis multimandatory systems. But could not break resistance of the conservatives in the party. The managing staff again was nominated at the discretion of the party. The conservatives in the party have achieved that under the new laws on choices third of deputies were elected from public organizations having all-Union bodies. It has created conditions that the communists made the majority in the case of the national deputies. The deputies elected from Azerbaijan all were the communists. But the informal deputies also made decent group in parliament of USSR. It has created conditions for formation of political opposition.

"Reorganization" in economic and political life has not given expected results because of serious resistance of conservative wing of party elite. They did not enable to refuse old, non-economic methods of management. It would mean destruction of economic bases of their authority. And the local measures of "updating" of the old control system of economy weakened sphere of the

account, created convenient conditions for the chiefs to get new ways of the robbery of national property. The discussions of the different programs about radical measures of transition to market economy, creation of conditions for multisystem managing were delayed. "Reorganization" has destroyed economy, raised political activity of the members of society, the authority of the party has loosened, in empire began deep general crisis.

The processes of destruction have begun. Moscow, which was afraid from amplification of centrifugal forces, accepted serious measures. This time processes of reprisal at 20-50 years were exposed as result of party totalitarianism. "To not wake the peoples" the basic objects of reprisal - active members of the antisoviet, nationalistic organizations were presented not as lost in struggle for freedom, but as victims of intrigues of the party figures. To the peoples of republics systematically took root feeling disbelief to own abilities independently to operate.

Heydar Aliyev, who else in 1982 was elected the member of the Political Bureau of

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and was nominated the first vice-president of ministerial Council of USSR has expressed the open and sharp protest against methods of reorganization, rash state policy, especially ill-intentioned policy against the turkish peoples and turkish republics of empire. The protection of interests of these peoples by the person, who holds such high posts in the state could destroy the plans of empire. Therefore he not only was removed from all posts in management, but also has turned to object of false criticism. The central and local seal purposefully denied achievement in economy, the culture of republic within government of H. Aliyev and slandered the people. It was done that the people doubted of own force, skill to operate independently state.

To weaken of centrifugal forces Moscow more and more widely applied traditional policy "To divide and to dominate", fueled and deepened the conflicts between nations, sowed seeds of contentions between them.

The attractive and noble purposes of "reorganization" have caused the large hopes

of the Azerbaijan people, is especial of intelligency. The democratic ideas were widely distributed among the people. Having worried from it the centre for preservation in the hand of Azerbaijan, to mean and all Southern Caucasus, anew fueled invented "problem of Daglig Garabag". And the western states, considering that the occurrence of the conflicts between the peoples are the important means of destruction of the Soviet empire, accepted to active participation in it. The European parliament in June, 1987 has founded day of memory "to victims of the Armenian genocide". P.Gazaryan, Z. Balayan, S. Khandzanyan, B. Ulubabyan, S. Kaputickyants and others instigating works that falsificated the history, insulted Azerbaijanians, took an exceptional importance in making Armenian nationalism more pugnacious, in flaming of national conflict. Zorry Balayan's books «Between the two fires», «Accident», «Heath» more emotionally affected the «long-suffering nation». In her poems Silva Kaputickyants called bloodthirsty Andranic to take his mouser again to kill azerbaijanians, to tear stomachs of women. And she noted that she-herself would help him. All was done for enlarging the

activity of «Garabag Committee». In the middle of 1980-s Armenians tried to seize some parts of Gazakh region by force. But republic government by the help of military forces suppressed the protest of Azerbaijanian population. Trying to make disturbances in Baku Armenian terrorists set off an explosions in the city traffic. Three times was burnt the Theatre of Opera and Ballet which was repaired recently. The terrorist plans against the industrial enterprises were exposed and neutralized.

The actions of the Armenians have received more and more scandalous and impudent character. On demand of the Armenian nationalists of thousand hectares of the Azerbaijan ground in Gazakh and Gadabay regions "were given" Armenia. The protest of the population of these regions were suppressed by forces of military parts.

Discharge of Heydar Aliyev from high posts in 1987 raised their hopes to reach to the purposes. Were more and more fueled national contention.

Moscow has created appropriate conditions for expansion of activity "Move-

ment of Garabag" organized as early as 40-s' years in Armenia. Since 1986 in territory Daglig Garabag propagation of separatism has received wide and open character. From Armenia were directed the reference to more than 30 states and public organizations of the world with the signature about 300 thousand armenians, where was spoken about necessity of connection of Daglig Garabag to Armenia. In October, 1987 in the Yerevan's Pushkin square was conducted the first open meeting of "The Committee of Garabag". Moscow did not hide the positive position to Movement Garabag. The adviser of Gorbachov Agambekyan in Paris in the interview to the newspaper "Humanite" in November 18, 1987 has announced about expediency of transfer of Daglig Garabag to Armenia and has told that the offer on it has transferred to the chief of state. The movement was supervised behind the armenian nationalistic intelligency, as before, by the agents of State Security Committee (SSC), leaders CP of Armenia. In this direction active work conducted the armenian "Association for the right of independent national self-determination" and "The Armenian Committee on protection of the

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political prisoners". The armenian nationalists, which were intensified when began falls of the Soviet empire, has inspired not only Moscow. The XXIII Congress of the national - socialist party "Dashnaksutun" in Athenes called all armenians effectively to use the created condition, to unit all forces again to expand struggle for creation of "Great Armenia". Local organization of the "Committee of Garabag", illegally working in Azerbaijan, particular in the Daglig Garabag began open struggle under the name "Kurunk" (The crane). Has extended the movement "Miatsum" (connection) of Garabag's Armenians. It was supervised by the special body - "The Committee of 55-s'.

And this time first victims became Azerbaijan Turks living in the primordial grounds, which now were in territory of Armenian SSR. Began fourth, last stage of the deportation of azerbaijanians from native grounds in Armenian SSR. For this purpose special armed groups beforehand were created. The first refugees, from regions of Gafan and Mehri of Armenian SSR, saved from hands of these criminal groups, arrived to Azerbaijan in January 25, 1988. On February 21, Armenian

vandals attacked and ruined the last mosque kept in Erivan. The genius of Azerbaijan art of ashug (Caucasian folk poet and singer) – Ashug Aleskhar's grave was insulted and the great poet – Samad Vurgun's monument was destroyed. At the beginning of 1988 terror acts against the Azerbaijanians were expanding in Vedibasar. Girls and women, old men had been insulted. The villages were robbing. Having no help about 4 000 person beaten, insulted, bearfooted were obliged to come over the snowy mountain ridges to Azerbaijan. On March 10, 1988 in the south of Erivan, 4 habitants of the village Mehmandan were murdered. Again a great number of refugees getting rid of Armenian chaze came to Zangilan. More than 100 houses in villages Vedi, Shirazli, Khalisa, Shidli of Ararat region were robbed, burnt and residents were driven out. In the middle of May again azerbaijanian villages had been attacked near Erivan. 880 habitants of the village Shirazli ran up to USSR-Turkey border and sheltered there. 10 000 habitants of 5 more villages of Ararat region joined them. Armenian fascists committed more awful atrocities in Gugark. At the end of November and at the begining of

December of 1988, 70 azerbaijanians were murdered in this region. Only in the village of Gozaldara of this region 21 persons, including 6 women and 3 babies had been murdered, 17 persons were murdered in Vartana. The result of this politics was that in 1988, from the territory of Armenia SSR, from 185 villages and other settlements, being their ancestor's native lands, 230 000 Azerbaijanians were driven out, 31 000 house, 1000 farmings belonging to them, 165 kolkhoz and state farms were robbed, 214 men killed, 1154 wounded, hundreds of men outraged, girls and women were insulted. On August 8, 1991, the last representatives of Azerbaijanians – Nuvadi inhabitants during a day by the help of Russian soldiers were driven out from Armenia. There stayed no single Azerbaijanian in the ancient Azerbaijan lands being the territories of Armenia. Ended the genocide of Azerbaijanians in their native lands being afterwards territories of Armenia.

Population of neighboring regions uprose to drive out Armenians from Daglig Garabag. It was reaction to driving out of Azerbaijanian Turks from Armenia. But the process had been stopped by the local

functioners being oppressed by Centre. Even Azerbaijanians driven out from Armenia were not allowed to settle in Daglig Garabag.

Armenians for proving their deeds on world communities eyes on February 28, 1988 committed intrigation by the active help of Edik Grigoryan in Sumgait.

«Murdered Armenian is dearer for dashnaks». These words had been said in 1919 by western journalist Scotland Liddle which exactly characterized the real face of armenian nationalists. And this opinion also belongs to him and quite corresponds the truth: «Armenians always looking for fighting. When they achieve it, on the purpose of agitation say: Don't let them to kill us». Sumgait provocation also was prepared on this scenario. Some days before that, rich armenians got their savings from the banks and left the city. Milishmen weren't allowed to carry not only guns, but even bludgeons in the city, where extremist mood was purposely instigating and any time could be committed a provocation (a great part of humiliated and driven away people were here). Procurator's organs, detachments brought to city under the command of general Karayev were also inactive. For taking photo-

graphs, bringing it with a sensation to the whole world's notice, in the places where the planned crimes could be committed beforehandly tele-photo operators were replaced. One of the provocateurs Edic Grigoryan personally killed 5 Armenians. At the result of this tragedy committed by Armenians in the city 32 peoples, including 26 Armenians and 6 Azerbaijanians were killed. The whole Azerbaijan people condemned this provocation, its authors and those who translated it into reality. Armenians reached their aims. Adorning this tragedy with inconceivable made ups they achieved to form a negative attitude of mind on international community.

Crimes committed against Azerbaijanians were met indifferently both by Moscow and deceived world community and this inspired separatists in Daglig Garabag - NKAR. On March, 1988 Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CC CPSU) and Council of Ministers of the USSR passed a resolution on increasing the speed of social-economical development in NKAR. But in reality was put a foundation of NKAR's leaving from Azerbaijan. By this resolution Mountainous Garabag got exclusive rights and

all unit Ministers and Structures had been charged on solving problems of region. On June 21, 1988 session of People's Deputies of Daglig Garabag discussed the problem of annexion of NKAR to Armenia SSR. Supreme Soviet of Armenia SSR gave his consent. This actions weren't lawful according the existed Constitution of the USSR. But the resolution adopted on January 12, 1989 by the Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the USSR about the formation of special ruling form in Daglig Garabag and its straight subordination to Centre was a new step in separation of NKAR from Azerbaijan SSR. Heads of the USSR in subsequent official documents even didn't mentioned to whom the region was belonging.

All these made armenian nationalists more active. On September 18, 1988 they attacked Khojali. The bloody skirmish took place there. On September 21 and October 18 in Khankahdy (Stepanakert) Azerbaijanians, in reply in Shusha houses and automobiles of Armenians were burnt. On November 24, armed cut-throats from Armenia attacked, invaded villages Eyvazli, Davudlu, Gadirli of

Gubadli region and committed atrocities. Eyvazli village was absolutely burnt.

Beginning from June 12, 1989 in conditions that created by Special Ruling Committee of Daglig Garabag (headed by A. Volsky) Azerbaijanian settlements in the region had been blockaded. With the assistance of Soviet army detachments Armenian «bearded men» drove out all the Azerbaijanians – 14 000 men from Khankandy. At the end of August Azerbaijanians having lost some part of them were obliged to leave villages Jamilli, Hassanabad and Dashbulag.

On November 28 by demands and insists of democratic forces of Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet of the USSR annuled Special Ruling Committee in Daglig Garabag. Ruling of the region had been intrusted to the Organizing Committee of Azerbaijan SSR under the control of Special Commission of Supreme Soviet of the USSR. But on December 1, 1989 Supreme Soviet of Armenia SSR adopted a resolution on joining Daglig Garabag and Armenia SSR. Armenian state flag was haisted in Khankandy. Management affairs, enterprises had been submitted to ministries and central boards of Armenia SSR.

On January 12, 1990, enemy from the helicopters threw some landing forces to village Gushchu of Khanlar region, outrageously dealt with the peaceful people, tens of men, women, children and old were murdered. Detachments of the Soviet Army also took part in this operation.

Processes send from the control.

II

Movement of the protest

Thicket of patience of the people, long suffering servitude, robbery of the riches, humiliation of national and religious feelings, violation of rights was already filled. Did not give expected results conducted measures on democratization of methods of political and economic management because of the contradiction in policy "reorganization", serious resistance of conservative forces in communist elite. Crisis went deep with each day, the reason to this was destruction of the old mechanism of management, but new was not created yet. The life of the people was

worsened. Ruling circles to prevent of processes of destruction of the USSR fueled of the national conflicts, expanded antiturk and antimoslem policy. The basic object of impact was Azerbaijan. Because it had the important geopolitical meaning, there could be the bridge between Turkey and turkish peoples of the USSR. The policy to derivate of the genocide of Azerbaijanians in Armenia and Daglig Garabag, to split of Azerbaijan and ,by this way to keep region in the hand pretended in life. Such policy served as the strong push to growth of national movement in Azerbaijan.

The first mass measures of the protest have begun from a beginning of 1988. The movement up to the end of this year carried spontaneous character. Many people considered that only great policies Haydar Aliyev is capable to unit forces of the people and to organize reflection of open aggression of the centre by a hand of the Armenian nationalism against Azerbaijan. However he was exposed to persecution on the part of the chiefs of empire. Has appeared the first political nucleus under the direction of Abulfas Aliyev (Elchibay). New political organizations such as - "Yurd", "Chanlibel", "Mustagillar", "Gala",

"Ashug Alaskar". "Ozan", "Varlig", Initiative group on establishment of National Front of Azerbaijan also tried to direct of national movement. However, these organizations were not strong enough. At first people expressed the protest against attempts to divide of Azerbaijan, against the requirement of the Armenians to transfer Daglig Garabag to Armenia by the way departure of the telegrams, letters, petition to the central government bodies. The first meeting of the protest was conducted in Baku in February 19, 1988. In March 16 of this year in an Academy of sciences of Azerbaijan was organized meeting – protest too. The populous meeting with active participation organization "Yurd" in a mark of the protest against genocide of Azerbaijanians in Armenia has passed in May 16 at State University. The participants of meeting have passed to the main square of city, which then carried a name of Lenin. In meeting acted known intellectuals – the writers and scientists. They called the people and government to defend the rights of republic. The people required of the centre and chiefs of republic to give categorical answer to the wrongful requirements of the Armenian nation-

alists. And in other cities of republic the meetings have passed. Management of republic, which wanted by protest demonstration of national weights - to influence Moscow, did not prevent realization of such meetings. But by attraction known intellectuals to tribunes of these meetings they tried that spontaneous movement of the protest has not developed on national movement against a mode, which has caused of this national opposition. These days political organizations as "Chanlibel", The Club of Baku Scientists", "Baku Centre of Art", initiative group of the Azerbaijan National Front etc. order wide enlighten work among the people, searched for the true reasons of the trouble and way of an output from them.

In May 21, 1988 Moscow changed the chief of Azerbaijan and purposely has put on this post A. Vazirov – the man, which not well knew traditions, psychology, radical interests of the Azerbaijan people. The new first secretary could not conquer authority at the people, for all he was the man of Moscow.

The policy of A. Volski - the representative of Moscow in Mountainous Garabag, directed on satisfaction of nationalistic whims

of the Armenians, and especially a message about construction of industrial object in the Topkhana wood have resulted national weights to movement. The rough meetings have passed in November 15 before the Baku university, next day in the Academy of Sciences and Sabir garden.

High stage of the spontaneous period national movement began since November 17, 1988. The demonstrators in this day stepping an alive obstacle of militia came to Lenin (nowadays "Azadlig"-Freedom) square (Meydan). Here were read the requirement of the participants of meeting. Reflection of aggression of Armenia against Azerbaijan, dissolution the manager structure conducting anti Azerbaijan policy in Mountainous Garabag, imposition of economic sanctions against the aggressor there were basic requirements. These requirements basically directed to attention of Moscow have satisfied of the chiefs of Azerbaijan. In the evening, when the rep-representatives of authority tried that meeting was finished, the participants of meeting have made terms - while their requirements will not be carried out, the meeting will proceed. Such words as

"Provocations of Moscow", "Sovereignty", "Independence", "Freedom" etc. were distributed in meeting. In November 19 on the "Azadlig" meydan for the first time was lifted a three-colour standard of independent Azerbaijan Republic, which existed per 1918-1920 years. The forces on the top echelons wanting to take the first post of authority, tried to use by it as a means of pressure to Moscow. In some regions a condition purposely became aggravated. The hooligan actions were made in regions of capital. In Nakhchivan there were attacks to buildings of state authority. In Ganja has arisen bloody skirmish between the population and army, as a result of which 160 men have received a wound, 3 soldiers and 1 child were lost. Using these as the pretext, Moscow has established since November 24 in Baku, Nakhchivan and Ganja the special rule and curfew. The army parts, tanks and other battle machines entered on streets of Baku. To run from bloodshed the veterans, which were at war in structure of the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, in military uniforms with awards and medals send before army parts and asked the officers not lift the weapon against the people. People was not frightened neither from

the armed soldier, nor from terrible military machines in streets. Each day of thousand people passing through a cardboard of the militarians came in "Azadlig" meydan. In trunks of tanks the pinks reddened. Sometimes number of the participants of meeting reached one million. Thousand people conducted night at fires, which were kindled in meydan.

The people already has achieved result that was possible to achieve by meetings. Now it was necessary to be organized and to continue struggle with other democratic ways. The number of the participants of meeting gradually has decreased, the circle of blockade of meydan was narrowed. In December 3 the militarian authority required of the participants of meeting to free "Azadlig" square. Many be dispatched. In December 4 of night the militarians by force have grasped meydan. After exile of meeting on "Azadlig" square some days in Baku and other cities of republic have passed strikes and demonstrations of the protest. Only in Baku strikes took part 14,5 thousand workers and employees. MEYDAN was the culmination of first, spontaneous stage of national movement.

III

Struggle for democracies

The first stage of national movement, display of solidarity of all layers of the population have given to the people reliance to itself, skill to unit forces for national interest. The people was once again convinced that, the chiefs of republic nominated by Moscow does not defend interests of the people. The people should itself choose the chief. Number of the politicians, which trying by seizure an arrangement of the people to get authority has increased. The people understood necessities to be organized, to be united in one front. Ruling circles, the special bodies with the purpose to not admit influential, known intellectuals to leadership of national movement, created conditions that inevitable process of organization has gone around of the persons, whose political experience and knowledge was still insufficient. The most part of the people was convinced, that only Haydar Aliyev can find the decision of existing problems and openly

demanded that he has come back to the management of republic. Thousands of people, especially in front and border regions went on meetings and demonstrations with Haydar Aliyev's portraits in hands. More than 20 thousand people participated in 1988 in Yevlakh on such measures. These meetings very much frightened authorities in republic and centre. The initiative of group of the persons, popular among the people, to unit and to direct of national movement has stopped by death of Khudu Mammadov in October 14, 1988.

The people began to unite around of National Front of Azerbaijan (NFA), which has announced the purpose to struggle for the economic and cultural sovereignty of Azerbaijan within the limits of the Soviet Union, to construct lawful states and civil society, but was supervised to young and inexperienced politics. The Initiative Centre of NFA was organized in March 13, 1989. In June 16, 1989 in Baku was held the constituent congress of NFA. Was accepted the Program and Charter of NFA and was elected Management of Organization. Abulfaz Elchibay was elected the chairman of NFA.

NFA had the large social base. Organization has refused principles of centralization. The reason to this were confederative structure, voluntary nature of participation in measures for the members of NFA, unessential character of the central bodies' decisions for local organizations. The existence of pluralism and most different fraction were stipulated in Charter of NFA. The chairman of NFA had only representative function. He at all had not the right to vote.

With such ultra democratic Charter it was impossible to create strong organization recognized to supervise of the people in a society of not having culture of democracy in extremely complex political conditions, when the important problems of a nation were solved. By it skilfully have used ruling circles, special bodies, forces aspiring to authority and they have placed the agents in this organization. In Republic a situation have become complicated since day per day. The economic difficulties have increased. 200 thousand refugees from Armenia were not placed yet. Intensity amplified by blockade of items of the Azerbaijanian community in Daglig Garabag, together with Nakhchivan Avtonom SSR, by

attack of the Azerbaijan frontier settlements from the Armenian party. With the initiative of the radical leaders of NFA in June 29 the common meeting was organized in Baku. To operate meetings began a body of management of NFA, which was against organization of meetings earlier. The meetings were precisely organized. Began and were finished with the overture from Uzeyr Hajibayov's opera "Korogly", calling to struggle for freedom. The democratic requirements of the participants of meetings were not accepted by a management of republic. The warning strikes were conducted in August 14 in Baku, at 21-22 August in Baku and Sumgayit and in September 2 in Baku. Empire wanted to suppress national movement with the help of the improvised Vazirov. In September 2 in all cities of republic the mass meetings have passed. In two days the national strike began. And the railwaymen have begun to strike. In September 5 movement in North Caucasus's railway absolutely has stopped. The large damage was brought in empire. In September 6, to the requirements was added the new requirement - "resignation" to a management of republic. And then began negotiation between

the Central Committee of CP of Azerbaijan and NFA, the agreement was signed. In September 15, began work next session of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan SSR. The session accepted the decisions about liquidation of Committee the Special Management in Mountainous Garabagh, addition to the Constitution item permitting changes of borders only by national voting, representation to wide discussion of the bills about the sovereignty, citizenship and economic independence. During national discussion of the bill about the sovereignty of republic were brought in to it the additions about the superiority of the laws of Azerbaijan from the all-Union laws and about the rules of an output of Azerbaijan from structure of USSR etc. In September 23 the Supreme Soviet has accepted the Constitutional law "About the Sovereignty Azerbaijan SSR", that has caused at the people feeling of a victory, belief to NFA, to power of unity of a nation. Mass meeting in November 25, announced there general strike have compelled Moscow to liquidate of Committee of the Special Management in Mountainous Garabagh in November 28. The Ministerial Council of Azerbaijan SSR in October 5, 1989

officially has recognized NFA. Since December 4 the newspaper "Freedom" of this organization began the edition with mass circulation. The National Front already has turned to influential mass organization. In its numbers have united up to 300 thousand members and supporters.

IV

Attempts to destroy of democratic movement

NFA has turned to influential political force. There was no doubt that, this organization will win on forthcoming choices to the legislative body of republic, which realization it were provided in March of this year. In opinion of the sociologists the representatives of National Front could collect 80-90 percents of votes. The arrival to authority of National Front would mean a consecutive implementation of the Constitutional law about the sovereignty of republic.

Orientation of the leaders of NFA to Turkey also disturbed Moscow. Therefore centre could not admit arrival to authority of this organization. After reception on his question - "What is your purpose?" answer - "To lead democratic elections" from A. Elchibay, chairman of Council of Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Y. Primakov marked: "After that there is only one step of an output from structure of the Soviet Union".

The attempts were made to give to national movement the religious contents, to connect it with Islam's fundamentalism, to pay its direction from west to Iran. Primakov offered to Sheykh - ul - Islam A. Pashazade to take authority, but he had refused, having told that his spiritual authority is highest all terrestrial. The second secretary of the Central Committee CP of Azerbaijan, man of Moscow V. Polyanichko also tried to direct young, inexperienced politicians on this road. However, nothing it has turned out.

As more effective ways were considered splitting national movement from inside through division of the political leaders on "liberals" and "radicals", holding of the election in conditions of a curfew and state of

emergency, what to ensure a victory of the communists. The basic means was to tempt of the people to power actions by some concessions. Vazirov frankly had offered to the oppositionists: "Show your force, and with you we shall be considered". "Radicals" have got in this trap. In December 9, 1989 the Centre Management (Idara Heyyati), where "liberals" were in the majority, was dismissed and was elected Temporary Organizational Group, basically, from "radicals". It intensified of "radicals" ever more. Dissatisfied from government the people has gone behind them. In some regions were formed dual power. In organizations of NFA have appeared the structures carrying out state functions.

In December 9, 1989 in Jalilabad have begun continuous meetings and strikes. Local militia has not lifted the weapon to the people and has passed to his party. Sent from other regions militia have carried out arrests in December 27. The angry people having attacked to office buildings of local authority have destroyed them, beat and expelled the chiefs. In skirmish 150 men have received wounds. In December 29 here began to work so-called "National Authority". Were orga-

nized Interim Committee of Defense and National Advice of Defense. In other regions event developed, basically, peace way. In these regions local authorities send to the compromise with national front, coming with them to the agreement to solve some problems in common, the oppositions, bloodshed did not suppose.

More convincing reasons were necessary that will be straightened with the people, which required democracy and validity. For this purpose that fact was used that the people required to take off "Iron blind" between Northern and Southern Azerbaijan, between the brothers divided in the beginning of XIX century by Russian and Persian empires. Destruction of the Berlin wall in Europe has given to the people hope on a mitigation of the boundary mode and in this region. Movement "border" has extended. In December, 1989 in Nakhchivan ASSR on Soviet - Iranian border collected about 10 thousand demonstrators, the fires were lit, the tents were established. In December 23 the National Front of Nakhchivan in writing demanded of the commander of boundary groups till December 31 to establish the order

for transition of the people through borders, that will meet the relatives, which live in that party. However, the consent was not received. In December 31 at 13 hours on 137 kilometer borders on the river Araz the excitements have begun. The boundary structures were destroyed. The people going on both parties, send the river and met. In January 7, 1990 the excitements on Turkey - Soviet border have begun. In January 18, the boundary structures were destroyed in regions Bilasuvar and Jalilabad.

Under the direction of the leaders of Lankaran branch of NFA in January 11 of 1990-year by night the administrative objects were blocked also activity of local authority was suspended. The Interim Committee of Defense here was organized. The people has created alive shield on roads in Salyan, Sabirabad and Kurdamir against the governmental troops directed to southern regions for suppression of revolts. All these were displays of crisis of authority, complete loss of the control of the man of Moscow - chief of republic and his device on events. The centre did not want to be reconciled with it. From a beginning of January different military parts

and special groups were placed in republic. The minister of a Defense of the USSR Yazov secretly has arrived to Ganja, has studied situations and in view of the offers of the chiefs of republic prepared the bloody operative plan "Typhoon" .

The terrorist actions of the Armenians, armed attacks to the Azerbaijan settlements amplified with each day. In January 12, 500 armed gangsters and the helicopters have attacked settlement Gushchu of Tovuz region with the special wildness concerned to the peace population, have killed tens people, women, old men and children.

Moscow, which by different means has created the appropriate conditions for these events has reached to his purpose.

In January 12 the radical leaders have organized The National Advice of a Defense (NAD) with the purpose to unite groups of self-defense, to create new military groups and to accept precautionary measures against attacks of the Armenians. Management of republic also called young to organize militia armed groups, self-defense groups of the workers.

The convenient condition and occasions for destruction of national movement and his managing body has ripened. In January 13 in reply to murder two Azerbaijanians by the Armenians have begun the armenians massacres in Baku. The local law-enforcement bodies, and 12 thousand armed quota of the Ministry of Internal affairs of the USSR ,which is taking place then in Baku have not prevented these massacres. Managing group of NFA in the declaration sharply has condemned of these crimes and has specified their true organizers. In the declaration was specified, that NFA is guided by principles of humanity, democracy and protection of the human rights. With the help of the population many Armenians have found refuges in houses, mosques, military parts. The members of NFA were especially active. In January 15, the massacres were stopped with the help of groups of self-defense of NFA.

To give the legal status to massacre of democratic forces, the ruling circles planned to announce the state emergency. At the request of management of republic, on the basis of the reference of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan SSR, Presidium of the Supreme

Soviet of the USSR in January 15, has issued a decree "About the announcement of the state emergency in the Daglig Garabag Autonomous Region and some other regions". Was offered to a management of republic to undertake all necessary measures, including application of a curfew in Baku, Ganja and other items.

Government of republic was in the paralysed condition. Empire were afraid from crisis of authority in republic, overthrows of the Soviet authority in Baku, as in other regions, began to enter in a circle of Baku additional military parts and heavy engineering. Under the initiative of NAD in the approaches of city, before parts of the Baku garrison the people have constructed barricades of cargo, automobile machines, buses etc., conducted pickets. On roads were constructed 26 large barricades. The ways to military parts taking place in city, including to Salyan barracks, were blocked. In spite of the fact that were not for Russian population danger, the military commander of a town garrison began these days resettlement of family Russian military from Azerbaijan. Ostensibly these measures were necessary for maintenance of

their safety from expected attacks of the extremists. Actually, the centre wanted to demonstrate as its forthcoming bloody actions are justified. The negotiation of the emissarys, directed by Moscow to Baku, with the representatives of radical and liberal currents has not given results, expected by them. In January 17, the rough meeting before a building of the Central Committee of CP of Azerbaijan began, and the general strike was announced. The participants of meeting required an immediate rule the end to the wrongful territorial claims of Armenia against Azerbaijan, to direct military forces, collected around of capital, to Mountainous Garabagh and frontier regions frequently exposed attacks from the part of Armenia. Were constructed the symbolical gallows for those chiefs of republic which considered as the traitors of the people. The applicants for the place of Vazirov, who has turned on a political corpse, were divided into two groups. Ayaz Mutallibov, Vagif Husseynov, Muslum Mammadov everyone achieved to receive a post of the first person in republic from hands of Moscow, Hassan Hassanov, Najaf Najafov by approach to the people tried to receive this

post with his help. To the requirement of the people about a resignation of the protege of Moscow refused. The secretary of CC of CPSU A. Girenko frankly spoke about inadmissibility of definition of the chief of republic not by Moscow, but by peoples. In other regions situation was intense too. In 11 regions passed populous, rough meetings. The population of Nakhchivan Independent Republic was more active. The Armenian extremists with the patrons planned to grasp Sadarak region, where 11 kilometer borders has connected Azerbaijan with Turkey. The inhabitants of this region adequately resisted to armed attacks of enemies with the help of voluntary groups from other regions of Nakhchivan IR. With the help of the Soviet army's soldiers Armenians in January 12, 1990 have grasped Azerbaijan village Karki. To involve attention to lawlessness of the Soviet army and Armenians the Supreme Soviet of Nakhchivan IR in January 19, has announced about an output from structure of the Soviet union. In the declaration was told that, the allied government promotes the Armenian extremists to grasp territories of Azerbaijan. The Soviet army makes an arbitrariness in

region. The Constitutional rights of the citizens are broken. Local TV has distributed this declaration all over the world in 7 languages. On office buildings were dismissed a flag of USSR and are lifted a national flag of Azerbaijan.

V

January 20

The chiefs of the Soviet empire could with the help of the armenians and local party functioners to achieve that a part of democratic forces have held a radical position and to create conditions for an attack on the people demanding validity and to destroy of structures of influential organization NFA. In January 19, 1990 Presidium of the Supreme Body of USSR without the consent of the Supreme Body of Azerbaijan SSR has issued a decree "About an establishment of state of emergency in Baku" from 00 hours of January 20. With the purpose to make massacres to frighten the people, the time of the establishment of state of emergency was kept a secret. It could bring to

nothing the bloody plans of Moscow. Therefore, Management of NFA has made a decision to not resist to armed forces at a case of announcement of state of emergency. However, the radicals called the people to not leave the barricades yet of the end, promised about a supply of the weapon and help. The picketers have believed also numerous promises of the representatives of Moscow and official persons of republic about that, that the army will not enter city. To not warn the people, have blown up the energy block of the Azerbaijan TV at 19²⁷ of hours of January 19. Not looking on that that the state of emergency was established from 00 hours of January 20, the military parts were entered into city from 21 hours of January 19, for the first time from the party of Turkan-Gala. "The Baku operation" was carried out under the direction of the Minister of a Defense of the USSR D.Yazov. Send to attack to the unaided people a troops of the Baku garrison, brought military parts, landing from the military ships. Heavy military engineering "successfully" destroyed symbolical barricades. The soldiers mobilized from a stock, among which there were many Armenians, the special units have made a

unprecedented atrocity against the people. Widely have used the tear gases, order massed-intense fires on all parties. Caught up and killed. The streets of city were in blood of the innocent killed and wounded people, old men, women and children. The militarians shot on machines of first aid, people, casually leaving on a street, on apartment houses, killed wounded, humiliated and lit corpses. Encircling medical establishments they prevented the civil persons to receive medical aid. The ships of "Caspianoilfleet" entering in the Baku cove did not enable ship of wars to attack city. Even one civil ship rammed of a ship of war. All this had helped to escape from even more serious victims. During attack of the Soviet army to Azerbaijan were lost 131, including 114 Azerbaijanians, 6 Russians, 3 Jews, 3 Taraps, have received wounds 744 men. 4 men was gone without a message, 400 were arrested. The houses were burnt. The large material damage was put to means of public and personal transport, municipal economy, citizens. As a result of erroneous actions, shooting each other, 25 militarians were lost, 283 have received wounds.

A. Vazirov secretly has escaped from republic with the help of his Moscow patrons.

The decree about the state of emergency was announced after end of the basic events of slaughter - at 7 hours of January 20. In a mark of the protest to black January in republic was announced 40 day time strikes. The persons borrowing high state and party managing rules, instead of helping the people, for the sake of preservation the posts disappeared. Known intellectuals in January 20 have organized in the Academy of Sciences meeting of the protest. To frighten and, to force them to be silent, two scientific - participants of this meeting during a leaving for work killed attacking their car by the tank. The militarian authority to bring down of heat of pressure has permitted to distribute the declaration of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan SSR of the protest against the announcement of the state of emergency in Baku and input of army in city. The national deputies - sing Bakhtiyar Vahabzadeh and writers Anar and Elchin required of the chairman to call sessions and to give an estimation to events of January 20. B. Vakhazadeh has addressed to the deputies by radio. In January 21 the extra-

ordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan SSR in the initiative one third of its deputies was held. The chiefs in expectation to receive the blessings from Moscow on the first post the participations in work of this session did not accept, and moreover have named its "wrongful". The deputies tried to give a political estimation to events. The deputies tried to give a political estimation to events. Expressed the categorical protest to the chiefs of the country and republic, who have admitted these event. Were accepted the decisions about a cancellation of the state of emergency in Baku, and immediate conclusion of army from city. However, Moscow did not react to these decisions.

The people was in horror, was humiliated and offended. In January 21 Heydar Aliyev has arrived in Constant Representation of Azerbaijan in Moscow and has acted with speech in populous assembly, marking the unity with the people in these heavy days. He has given a political estimation tragedy of January 20, has exposed to destruction of the unarmed people as actions against democracy, humanity, rough political errors having a place because of fault of the chiefs of the centre and republic. Haydar

Aliyev without fear has named the chiefs of empire, who tried to frighten him "hangmen". The text of historical speech of Heydar Aliyev was widely distributed in republic and in the world. In heart of the people light of hope was lit.

Despite of existence of the state emergency Baku and all Azerbaijan in January 22 with great grief and honour was stitched with shahids – with sons and daughters have died by death of the hero. The city was in mourning. Were announced 3 day time mournings in republic. In square "Azadlig" the large mourning meeting has passed. More than two million people took part in meeting and funeral process. It was expression of deep respect for the sacred shahids and protest against bloody actions of Moscow. In streets, in walls of a building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan such slogans were written as "Gorbachov is hangman!", "Down with The Communist Party of the Soviet Union!", "Aggressors, down with from Azerbaijan!". The fires from the party cards were lit. Shahids were buried in park above a mountain, which in a consequence has received the name "Shahidler khiyabani".

The bloody crimes of the Soviet army against the people did not come to an end.

With the help of army were restored the Soviet authority in regions where they were overthrown by people. January 24 Moscow instead of Vazirov, who has escaped from republic, has put Ayaz Mutallibov, which has left by the winner struggle for authorities between the chiefs of republic.

Empire and his local support have reached the purpose. In Baku was established the state of emergency and curfew. National Council of a Defense of National Front of Azerbaijan was destroyed. His some leaders were arrested. The real opportunities of arrival of the NFA through democratic choices to authority were liquidated.

However, empire could not by the bloody actions frighten the people and break his will. On the contrary, his support - Communist party and Soviet authority have lost authority among the people even more. The hopes for "reorganization" have collapsed up to the end. Empire proved that for him honour of the peoples, the sovereignty of republics nothing does not cost. If till bloody January the majority of the people trusted on an opportunity of maintenance of the

sovereign rights of republic by a way perfection of the existing economic and political relations inside the Soviet Union, this event has proved that the unique way of an establishment of the sovereignty is an output from structure of empire, restoration of state independence. If movement of the protest after rout of the Meydan has turned to democratic, bloody January became the reason of growth of movement of freedom.

VI *Results*

Attempts of the authors of "reorganization" to rescue empire from inevitable disintegration by ways of realization of economic and political reforms, easing of centrifugal forces, delivering nations against each other have not given expected result. On the contrary, these measures accelerated process of destruction, deepening general crisis. Forces struggling against a colonial mode in national outskirts become stronger even more. The Azerbaijan people has received the large lesson from black January. Has

turned down adventurous appeals to guerilla warfare, has put before itself real problems and continued struggle by democratic means. Is organized the republican strike within 40 days in a mark of the protest against black January has passed. The strike has brought the large economic damage to empire.

However, Azerbaijan chiefs not correctly estimated processes, which occurred in the world, hoped and trusted that the Soviet Union will live and will become stronger. Went against desires of the people will be freed from the imperial burden.

By the resolution from May 22, 1990, Council of Ministers of the USSR reverted the right of economical management of the Daglig Garabag to Azerbaijan. But, these opportunities were not effectively used.

Savegery of Armenian nationalists was continued. On March 24, by night, armenian military units with the help of Russians attacked the village Baganis-Ayrum of Gazakh region, 7 inhabitants of it, including 2 women and two-months' baby were killed and then burnt. On August 18-20, Armenian military units with the help of Russians, helicopters and weapons and equipments

attacked Gazakh region. Baganis-Ayrum was again destroyed and inhabitants were tortured. 40 days baby was put on bayonets by Armenian women and fried. Wild Armenians burnt a man and danced yalli around him. At the same time they were attacking the villages of Zangilan, Gubadli, Lachin. The inhabitants of Yukhari-Jibikli of Gubadli with fortitude resisted enemy and killed 20 Armenian cut-throats.

In a current the crucial period of a history the National Front of Azerbaijan could not supervise of the people, message him behind itself. Its political polycompetent, ambitious, short-sighted leaders send on arrangement with a management of republic to receive the mandates on forthcoming parliamentary choices. Ostensibly under influence of the declaration of the group of intellectuals authority and the leaders of NFA in middle of May met and have created the Council.

Session of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan SSR in May 19, 1990 under the preliminary agreement achieved in the council, has founded a post of the president and has elected Ayaz Mutallibov to this post.

And the authority has gone to some concessions. Promised to the democrats deputy places in parliament. By the decree from May 21, May 28 - the day of formation of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic in 1918 - was announced as the day of restoration of statehood of Azerbaijan. Despite of a military rule in Baku and Ganja in May 28 passed meetings and processions. However, all these indicative measures could not change the relation of the people to the leaders of NFA. The people saw their true intention and beginnings to depart from them. For short term the number of the members of NFA decreased three times.

The National Front of Azerbaijan was not in force to supervise over the new, more responsible period of national movement. The people has connected all hopes with Heydar Aliyev. The most part of the population trusted that, only Heydar Aliyev can decide of existing problems. In meetings and demonstrations required his returning to authority in republic. The chiefs of empire and Azerbaijan, which were afraid from realization of desires of the people will unit under the direction of the outstanding leader, planned and have begun to

carry out the plans of reprisals against Heydar Aliyev and his family. Tried to prevent his returning to Baku, to the capital of republic, in spite of the fact that he repeatedly had declared that does not want will return to authority, only wants to be together with the people in such heavy days and to help him. Despite of all obstacles, in July 20, 1990 Heydar Aliyev has returned to Baku. However, governors of republic and opposition forces, which expected from them division of authority created obstacles against residing him in Baku and he owed will return to the native edge Nakhchivan. In July 22 he was invited to meeting, which passed in the square "Freedom", where accepted participations more than 80 thousand people and acted with speech. Heydar Aliyev called the people up to the end to struggle for freedom and independence.

The elective companies to parliament of Azerbaijan SSR, Nakhchivan ASSR and local soviets of the deputies have begun in July. In spite of the fact that the representatives of public organizations entered into elective commissions, the mobilization of forces of the communists, the state of emergency and the reprisals influenced to election results, which

have passed in September 30. The managing circles roughly broke the law of choices, which and itself was not such democratic. By this way the communists have received the majority of the mandates. National Front and other opposition organizations, which have united in the "Democratic Congress" have received only 30 places in parliament of republic. In time, when ruling circles and the opposition forces fought for authority, Heydar Aliyev from Nakhchivan supervised struggle of the people for freedom and independence. Him have elected by the deputy of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan SSR and Nakhchivan ASSR. By the wise and far-seeing policy Heydar Aliyev has directed struggle of the people for freedom. In November 17, 1990 session of parliament of Nakhchivan taking place under his presidency accepted the historical decisions on withdrawal of the words "Soviet, Socialist" from the name of autonomous republic, about acceptance of the three-colour standard of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR), which existed per 1918-1920 years, as the State Standard and acted about it by the legislative initiative

before parliament of Azerbaijan. With the initiative of Heydar Aliyev the parliament of Nakhchivan (Ali Majlis) in November 21 of 1990-year has given a political estimation to events of January 20, emphasized, that in these bloody tragedies are guilty alongside with the governors of empire and chiefs of republic Vazirov, Mutallibov ect., has shown to the people who dominates above him. In Ali Majlis of the autonomous republic was discussed the situation in Mountainous Garabag and nearby regions, has seemed inexcusable errors of the governors of empire and republic, in the accepted here decision the realization of immediate measures directed to restoration of the rights of Azerbaijan in these regions was required. Democratic measure conducted in Nakhchivan were images for all Azerbaijan. In February 5, 1991 session of the Supreme Body Azerbaijan SSR on the requirements of democratic forces has accepted some historical decisions. The state began to be named "The Azerbaijan Republic". The standard of ADR was approved as a State Standard of the Azerbaijan Republic.

In empire a communist mode still lived. However, party, which was its support began

from inside to be decomposed. In the beginning of 1900, when began expansion democratic movement against 6-th clause of the Constitution of the USSR, in which was approved managing role of the communist party in the Soviet society, in party the various currents have appeared. The majority of the Azerbaijan communists stood on a position of "Democratic platform in CPSU" and regarded necessary of the gradual statement of democratic methods of management. In republic there were also those communists, stood on a position of "Marksist platform in CPSU", considering that, the society, constructed in the country, does not relate with a socialist community and it is necessary to return to sources of Marxism. Even a part them in summer of 1989 have founded an organization and have issued a magazine "Hummat", where have announced the purposes.

Despite of strong resistance of the conservatives in July, 1990 the twenty eighth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union taking place under the slogan "The Humane and democratic socialism" defended a democratic platform. To the documents of

congress were included the ideas about social-democratization of a party. Organized from the first secretaries of republics the Political bureau of the party was deprived from functions of the Supreme authority. However still strong conservatives were quickly grouped.

M. Gorbachov trying to retain power in a hand, to bring down of heat of struggle for authority has lifted a question "about destiny of the Soviet Union". Heydar Aliyev and other democratic forces of Azerbaijan have exposed this policy directed against processes of branches of national republics, called the people to not take part in референдум on expression the attitude about preservation of the Soviet Union. Heydar Aliyev marked, that for Azerbaijan to enter into structure of this union, to show the positive attitude to the allied contract there is a crime before the people. Tragedies happened with our people for last three years completely clearly shows that this union will not rescue us. However, despite of resistance of the democratic block in February 5, 1991 the communist majority of parliament of Azerbaijan accepted the decision about participation of republic in this national voting.

Hope about that, the attitude of Moscow to Armenia, which did not participate in referendum, will vary sharply for the benefit of Azerbaijan also played the important role in a current choice of the chiefs of republic. Heydar Aliyev and population of Nakhchivan in struggle for national independence steadily there was up to an end. On the initiative and political will of Heydar Aliyev in March 14, 1991 the parliament of Nakhchivan made a decision on a non-participation of the population of this territory in the referendum about preservation of the Soviet empire.

All democratic forces, Nakhchivan boycotted these elections, which have passed in March 17, 1991 in conditions of state of emergency and by insufficient preparation. The results of the choice were falsified, ostensibly 95 percents of the participants have voted for preservation of union.

At the end of April in a presidential residence, in Novo-Ogoryovo, which is not far from Moscow, was signed the protocol between the chiefs of 9 republics accepting participations in referendum and president of the USSR about the prompt conclusion of the new allied contract. The project of the new

contract carried compromise character. Was stipulated that for 6 months after its conclusion to lead new elections to allied state bodies and with this way to discharge the opponents of political authority. Moscow on the one hand has punished Armenia reducing him the help in May - June months, and on the other hand tried to consolidate a mode of Mutallibov. A. Mutallibov to consolidate the positions has gone on a national presidential choice. The elections were nominated on the eighth of September. Ruling circles were afraid that, Heydar Aliyev, who has among the people huge influence and can win these choices, has included the age qualification for the president in the Constitution. However, people required a cancellation of this qualification, passed numerous meetings.

Heydar Aliyev is open protested against the forces, including Communist Party and Soviet state, which tried to keep of the Soviet empire and has exposed their two-personal policy. In July 19, 1991 he left a line of a Communist Party. In the application directed to party organization of ministerial Council of the Soviet Union he has written that, the state sovereignty of Azerbaijan counter to the

Constitution is broken, between Armenia and Azerbaijan there is a not announced war and all these are a normal situation for the Soviet state, which ostensibly is based to "human ideology". In a current the responsible period in life of the people the National Front of Azerbaijan could not unit forces of the people, on the contrary, in his has gone deep split. The first congress of NFA (July 13-16, 1991) dismissed the Advice Management (Idara heyhati). The members of national front have organized initiative groups for creation of various political parties, as that the National Democratic Party of Azerbaijan (Musavat), the Party of National Independence of Azerbaijan, the Party of Revival, the Azerbaijan socially - democratic Party, the Party of National Freedom etc. The members of national front have organized initiative groups for creation of various political parties, as that a National Democratic Party of Azerbaijan (Musavat), Party of National Independence of Azerbaijan, Party of Revival, Azerbaijan social - democratic Party, Party of National Freedom etc.

With each day amplified resistance of conservative forces on the top echelons of

authority of empire. The high rates of inflation, deterioration of life of the population created favorable conditions for their effective activity. In June, 1991 in the secret session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR the leaders of the conservatives required extraordinary power for the Cabinet of ministers. It was impossible. The following attack of reaction was showed in attempt to make state revolution at 18-19 August, 1991. Group of the leaders of reaction "having neutralized" M.Gorbachov, who had a rest in Foros (in Crimea), have organized (GKChP) "State Committee of a State of Emergency" and tried to take in the hand all authority for rescue of the country from disintegration. The leaders of the communists defended this state revolution. However, the initiators of this act were mistaken, because, in the large cities the democratic forces were very much organized. In August 19 under the direction of the president of Russia B. Yeltsen all democratic forces have united and risen against the putsch.

The president of the Azerbaijan Republic having made the large political error, practically has approved the putsch. Acting on the TV set in August 21, when already democ-

atic forces have won above reaction in Moscow, A. Mutallibov has declared that, all hopes in the sanction of difficult problems of republic he assigns to GKChP. The second secretary of the Central Committee of a Communist Party of Azerbaijan V. Polyanychko also has expressed approval to state revolution. However, the democratic forces of the Azerbaijan people have begun struggle against the supporters of reaction. Were conducted the populous meetings in Baku and in other cities. In August 23 against the people holding a meeting before the building of National Front of Azerbaijan the forces were applied. Under the urgent requirement of democratic forces in August 26 has opened an extraordinary session of the Supreme assembly (Ali Majlis) of the Autonomous Republic. Session liquidated authority of the communists in Autonomous Republic. Were suspended activity of the communist party and komsomol in its territory.

In meetings conducted in large cities it were required from government to suspend presidential elections, to dismiss parliament, and to elect new parliament, to liquidate authority of the communists, and as states of

emergency to accept serious measures for restoration of the sovereign rights of Azerbaijan above Mountain Garabag.

Extraordinary session of the Supreme Body of the Azerbaijan Republic conducted on the urgent requirement of the active citizens in the 30-th of August of 1991-year, in 13³⁰ has accepted the declaration on restoration of state independence of the Azerbaijan Republic. However, governors of republic and parliament, which most part were the supporters to preservation of the Soviet Union did not hurry up to accept the constitutional act about independence of republic and to carry out national poll.

In September 5, 1991 the V congress of the National deputies of the USSR accepted the Constitutional Law on government of the transitive period and had assigned the power to the State Soviet consisting of the high officials and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which formation was coming.

However in republics, including in Azerbaijan the struggle against realization of this law began. A position of the chief of republic, who stood in the party of the supporters of restoration of empire, raised general dis-

content against him. In September 3 under the urgent requirement of the people the Ali Majlis of the Nakhchivan Republic had elected Heydar Aliyev of the chairman, in spite of what, he repeatedly had announced that does not want to hold of this post. The Ali Majlis by the decision from September 4 had stopped presidential elections in territory of an autonomy. The governors of Azerbaijan rendered serious pressure against Nakhchivan to break the people. Entered armed forces. Group consisting from the officers and representatives of parliament had arrived in Nakhchivan to change the decision of the people. The chairman of Ali Majlis on the TV set has declared that if these forces do not abandon territories of Nakhchivan, against them there will be of weight a people. The governors of Azerbaijan were compelled will be receded. As the decision from October 1 authority of Nakhchivan considered to impossible participation of Azerbaijan in allied bodies of the transitive period. Here was condemned an inconsistent position of a management of Azerbaijan in questions of independence of republic.

As other republics and Azerbaijan to the State Soviet of the USSR has sent the

representatives with consultative powers. Therefore it became not possible to organize a new Supreme legislative body.

In September 8 in Azerbaijan has passed presidential elections. The democratic forces called on boycott of these choices. Under the decision of Ali Majlis in territory of Nakhchivan the presidential elections have not passed. Have announced that, A. Mutallibov was elected the president of republic.

On the initiative of the first secretary and president of republic A. Mutallibov, which tried to conquer an arrangement of the people, in September 14, 1991 a Communist Party of Azerbaijan, suffering complete crash, in its XXXIII extraordinary congress has dismissed itself.

Despite of the requirements of democratic forces, and in the first turn Heydar Aliyev, the chief of republic, holding positions of expectation, tried as it is possible to stretch of process of acceptance of the Constitutional law about restoration of state independence of Azerbaijan. At last, the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Republic on session in October 18 unanimously has accepted "The Constitutional act about State Independence of the Azerbaijan

Republic ". On demand of opposition, against serious attempts of the conservatives, this session has refused inclusion of Azerbaijan to the initiative of Gorbachov about the conclusion of the uniform contract about economic association. The preference on the conclusion of the mutual economic contracts with other republics was given up.

In November 14 in Novo-Ogoreva, near Moscow the chiefs of seven republics, including the Azerbaijan expressed the intention about creation new intergovernmental association - Union of the Sovereign States. The democratic forces in republics have held a rigid position against it. Therefore, prepared contract nobody has signed except for Gorbochov.

The democratic forces condemned of inactivity government in conditions strengthening of pressure against Azerbaijan, called the citizens will not be repaired to authorities. The chief of republic has understood the powerlessness in management of the state. The National Front of Azerbaijan tried in any case to come to authority. But, the chief of republic wanted will keep authority, through the compromise with national front.

There was one more the reason, which pull together authority and national front. They were guarded with growth of popularity of Heydar Aliyev at the people. The national front demanded dissolution of parliament in which he could not achieve the majority and creation on a parity basis assembly (Milli Shura) on the rights of a legislative body. The president wanted to receive time for strengthening on places by reorganization of local government bodies, is concrete by creation of the chapters of the executive authority. The national front offered to H. Aliyev, to use his influence among the people, to enter into structure of Milli Shura, however has received failure. In October 3 at meeting of the president and leaders of democratic forces the agreement on creation of Milli Shura was achieved. 43 members of Parliament in confidential meeting have decided to rise against the president, if the danger of dissolution of parliament will appear. In October 8 in session of the Supreme Soviet taking place in a building of parliament surrounded by the scandalous picketers, which even beat not consent by them deputies, the shattering impact was put to forces of the defending rights of parliament.

The president under a name of perfection of the bodies of state power and of local management in October 18 has founded a post of the chapters of the executive authority and has nominated to them the persons, devoted to him. The device presidential management was created, the posts of the state secretary and advisers were founded. The first state secretary became the academician Tofik Ismayilov. However, not these measures, not social concessions directed on improvement a social situation of the population, which in a condition of deep inflation had not real influence could will consolidate a position of the president.

The constitutional law from the 30-th of October took into account Milli Shura as a body of parliament. Under this law Milli Shura owed is held from 72 deputies, that has not given opposition, which in parliament had only 30 mandates, superiority.

The situation in republic became more intense in connection with destruction on air of the helicopter, in which there were high officials of republic, including State secretary, Prosecutor General, Minister of home affairs and the observers from Russia and Kazakhstan

arrived for acquaintance with a situation on a place after capture of village Khojavand in Mountainous Garabag in November 20. October 26 the Supreme Soviet has reconsidered the law on Milli Shura and has changed paragraphs that limited its power. Was created Milli Shura on a parity basis consisten of 50 deputies - 25 representatives of the democratic block and others 25.

In December 8, 1991 in a residence "Viskuli", that is near of the city Brest the chiefs of Russia, Ukraines and Byelorussia have signed the agreement on creation of Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The agreement named "Belovejsk" has put the end to existence of Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics as legal subject. Brest triplet invited other republics to enter into new association. The chiefs of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan met in Ashkabad have expressed the intentions to enter into structure of CIS. In December 21 in Almati was held meeting of the chiefs of Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Moldova and Azerbaijan. Here was accepted the declaration on the termination of existence of the Soviet Union

and settlement of problems connected with it. In this meeting the chief of Azerbaijan has signed some contracts. However, the Azerbaijan parliament has refused to approve them (October 7, 1992).

In the Azerbaijan Republic in December 29, 1991 the general voting (referendum) has passed. In the bulletin one question was written: "Do you agree with the Constitutional Act, accepted the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Republic about state independence of the Azerbaijan Republic." More than 95 percents of the people having the right to vote took part in voting. The Azerbaijan people unanimously voted for state independence of republic.

To the people, which history in the twentieth century in second time has given chance to become independent, expected heavy, but famous paths of struggle for creation, preservation and strengthening of national, independent statehood.

In a place, where the heroes given life for freedom are buried, burns eternal fire, is constructed high, grandiose monument, which is visible from many parts of old and always young city Baku - capital of Independent

Azerbaijan Republic. Each year of January 20 of thousand people make there pilgrimage. The heroes and pride of them heroism are significant spiritual values of the Azerbaijan nation.

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